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ABSTRACT

In 1972 the Bolivian government passed a law to license journalists. This law created the "colegiado" system, providing for legally protected minimum wages, satisfactory working conditions, and restriction of journalistic employment to those with professional credentials. Although it is still too early to determine whether the law will be ignored or be used to restrict press freedom, it is believed that the "colegiado" laws will actually serve to protect journalism from governmental interference and will continue to lead toward economic and psychological benefits to the profession. Understood within the context of the Latin American situation, the statutes appear to be a giant step toward upgrading the journalistic profession in this area. (DF)

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# LICENSING NEWSMEN:

# THE BOLIVIAN EXPERIENCE

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No issue in recent years concerning the Latin American press has aroused such vociferous opposition by organizations such as the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) than the licensing or registering of journalists. When Bolivia adopted the so-called colegiado system in 1972--with regulatory decrees to come later--eight other Latin American republics had already done so or were in the process of doing so. Critics such as the IAPA warned that such laws could be the prelude to despotism. They feared that the dictatorial or autocratic governments of most of the Latin American states could use the colegiado mechanisms to withhold from or revoke licenses of government opponents or bestowing them on sycophants. Proponents argued that journalism should be protected from dilettante interlopers just as the professions of law and medicine were. Colegios were needed, in their view, to dignify and make hierarchical the practice of journalism, enforcing codes of ethics and conduct. Although usually not emphasized by the proponents, the economic motivation for adopting the colegiado system was probably paramount. Colegios got minimum wages and satisfactory working conditions written into law. In many instances they were charged with taking over the process of collective bargaining which the embryonic labor unions had bungled so badly. More practically, the colegiado system restricted the availability of workers for the press by insisting upon professional credentials. Previously many colaboradores, paid no more than $2.50 a column by the Bolivian press in 1973, glutted the market and cut into jobs that might have been held by those full-time workers trained or

experienced in the craft.

The desire to professionalize journalism in the colegiado manner may seem alien to journalists in the United States, but the drive should be understood in the Bolivian context. As Augusto Céspedes, Bolivia's most famous living writer, maintains, the press is one of the industries that bring the greatest returns to owners, but the weak and ineffectual labor unions have not been able to get a fair share of those returns for the workers themselves. Journalists had not even received pensions (jubilaciones) because they had never been recognized as a profession. Moreover, the government subsidizes the press in Bolivia to a great extent. Newspapers like La Calle (1936-1946) which whipped up support for the Bolivian National Revolution (1952-1964), Latin America's second great social and economic-revolution, could not be edited in Bolivia today under strongman General Hugo Banzer.[1] Thus, Céspedes saw the need, in addition to economic factors, for the Bolivian press to achieve tne solidarity to police its own ranks with one hand and fend off government interference with the other.[2]

Complaints about Bolivian journalism were rife before the Colegio de Periodistas was considered. Topping the list was the fact that workers were so underpaid that family men had to hold two, three and even four jobs to make ends meet. Sometimes men worked as public relations agents in the afternoon for firms they had been reporting about in the morning. Under the system of part time workers (colaboradores) it was not unusual for columnists and others to hold down government posts while still

writing for the newspapers. Bribes--called coimas in Bolivia--endemic in the Latin American press, got favorable material into the newspapers or kept unfavorable items out. The situation of the few women employees, who had to face the discrimination of their macho bosses and co-workers, was even worse.[3]

Given these dismal conditions, what was the response of the working press in the days before the colegiado system was decided upon? This background is significant since the Asociación de Periodistas de La Paz (APLP, Association of La Paz Journalists), and especially its president Alberto Nathes Zuazo, was instrumental in bringing about the decision to go the route of the Colegio. In the first place, it must be remembered that Bolivia even in 1978 is not a propitious place in which to launch a newspaper. Poverty--second in the hemisphere only to that of Haiti--illiteracy and profound racial divisions all mitigate against the kind of industrial journalism which we know in the United States. In 1976 there were only 16 newspapers in the entire country, which is larger than Texas and California combined, with some four million people. La Paz had six daily newspapers, followed by Santa Cruz with five; Cochabamba and Oruro, two each, and Sucre, one.[4] This means that four departmental or state capitals do not have a single newspaper, including Potosí, once the largest city in the hemisphere during the silver boom of the seventeenth century.

In this bleak environment, somewhat enriched by the activity at La Paz itself, the Asociación de Periodistas de La Paz was established and later led the way in bettering the conditions of

Bolivian journalists. According to Bolivian journalism historian Rodolfo Salamanca LaFuente, attempts to form a group in 1909 failed. On August 3-5, 1929, the First Congress of Bolivian Journalists met in the mining town of Oruro, but the Association of La Paz originated in nightly social gatherings (tertulias) which were so regular that the place they were held came to be called the Plaza del Periodista (Journalist's Square). The Association of La Paz Journalists was formally founded on Dec. 5, 1929, with 51 members and projects to draft a code of ethics and safeguard freedom of the press. Although not a trade union (it approved arbitration in labor disputes and favored a "right-to-work" attitude), it was regarded as nihilistic and a dangerous presence by the newspaper owners. Meanwhile, the Association's members sought moral authority to lend weight to their causes. The second stage of the Association's development began in 1937 under the leader Frontaura Argandoña, who obtained the first barrio (housing development) for journalists, designated May 10 as Día del Periodista (Day of the Journalist) to celebrate the promulgation of a pension law which unfortunately never functioned. The first labor union was organized in 1954, two years after the Bolivian National Revolution began. With a local in each of the departments that had newspapers, it was called Sindicato de Trabajadores de Prensa (Press Workers' Union). In 1964 a national professional body was formed with a seat in La Paz, Federación de Trabajadores de la Prensa de Bolivia (FTPB, Federation of Workers of the Bolivian Press). Although it called three national congresses

of the press, it has not been as active as the Association of Journalists of La Paz. The Sindicato likewise remained weak and ineffective.

Reform military leader Colonel Germán Busch (1937-1939) dictated the decree of May 10, 1938, which instituted the first law of pensions for journalists. On December 24, 1940, an effort was made to regulate the working hours of journalists throughout the republic of Bolivia, and in 1947 the government called for an obligatory social security system for workers of the press. A second Congress of Bolivian Journalists was held in Cochabamba Sept. 13-15, 1948, but it became clear that it would be either the APLP or FTPB as smaller, more manageable units who would achieve more for the workers of the Bolivian press.[6] By October 1974 the FTPB had held its Fifth National Congress of Workers of the Press in Oruro, which created a national prize for journalism.[7]

It was, however, the APLP which led the way in the struggle for a Colegio de Periodistas in Bolivia. Located at the seat of the government in a colonial house near the Plaza Murillo granted to the organization by the revolutionary government of Víctor Paz Estenssoro in 1955, the Association had its finger on the pulse of events at the National Palace and Congress buildings just down the street. The National Revolutionary Movement headed by Paz Estenssoro was overthrown by the military in 1964, but the revolutionary reforms were not dismantled. A brief return to leftist rule in 1970-71 under General Juan José Torres ended with his violent overthrow and the establish-

ment in power for seven years now of rightwing General Hugo Banzer.[8] When Banzer, who later outlawed labor unions and political parties, turned a sympathetic ear to the journalists' demands in the early 1970s that their occupation be professionalized through a colegiado system with strict licensing, observers were astonished. Some reasoned that the new señor presidente was trying to co-opt the press but Bolivian newsmen stoutly denied that the proposed system could become the creature of the government since the Association would retain the registering power in its own hands. Compromises on both sides actually produced a mixed system.

When Bolivia considered the colegiado system in 1972, eight Latin American states had adopted similar programs or were in the process of doing so. In a study made by Oscar Terrazas Ayala of Cochabamba, here in essence was the information available to Bolivian planners:

> BRAZIL. This was the first country in Latin America to regulate the work of journalists--in Article 131 of the Constitution of 1934. Later, a decree of 1938 prescribed working conditions and a maximum of 5 to 7 hours a day. It also called for the registration of professional journalists who could not be dismissed arbitrarily.
>
> CUBA. This was the second Latin American country to create--in 1943--a Colegio de Periodistas, but it did not have a registration system. Nor did the statute leave journalists free to form their own unions. One of the projects was to establish a code of professional ethics; although there was no disciplinary Tribunal of Honor, members could be expelled from the Colegio.
>
> ARGENTINA. The profession of journalism was standardized in 1944 under Juan Domingo Perón when the Professional Obligatory Carnet was required for free access to official places and facilities of transportation. Later, the Statute of the Journalist,

Law No. 12908, fixed two professional categories; aspirants to the profession and professional journalists. The latter must be 20 years old and have completed 24 months of continuous work in the media of mass communication. In this way, one does not have to obtain an academic title before being licensed by the law.

CHILE. Since 1956 Chile has legislated the exercise of the profession of journalism, after a pension system was established in 1952-53 whereby the journalist pays into his pension fund 10 percent of his salary and the employer an equal amount. The Register of Journalists created by the 1956 law is under the charge of the Colegio de Periodistas, not under official organisms as in other countries. The Chilean law also establishes minimum salaries agreed upon by Mixed Commissions of Salaries with two representatives of the Colegio and two employers.

COLOMBIA. Preliminary plans for a "Legal Statute of the Colombian Journalist" elaborated in 1965 stipulated that those with only practical experience could not exceed one for every ten professional journalists. A "Conscience Clause" provided that no one could be dismissed or have his Professional Carnet cancelled because of political, religious or other opinions. A pension based on a proportion of one's earnings could be obtained after ten years of service. Francisco Avila called this the first of its kind in the world, motivated by "the tremendous psychological erosion" experienced by journalists working in the field.

VENEZUELA. Journalists fought for a Colegio de Periodistas, along with a journalism school and pension fund, since 1941. Finally, in 1972 a "Law of the Exercise of Journalism" was enacted which provided for a completely closed system based first on obtaining a university degree in journalism. The Venezuelan law also set up stringent ethical precepts.

PERU. In 1965 this country also opted for a closed system (carrera cerrada) with the initial provision that those with six years continuous experience in journalism could obtain their titles of professional journalists from the journalism faculties or schools of Peru. Those with ten years experience, after taking some university courses and presenting a thesis, could obtain the degree of doctor in journalism.

> ECUADOR. A "Law of Professional Defense of the Journalist" was adopted in 1968 with stiff sanctions against unauthorized exercise of the journalist's craft. The employer who allows such illegal exercise among his staff members will be fined 500 to 5,000 sucres. On the other hand, no one can be dismissed because of the opinions ("within morality and good customs") expressed in his articles or commentaries. Also, the Law prohibits authorities from obliging newsmen to reveal their sources of information. Those with five years experience can be licensed after an intensive course organized by the Ministry of Education; those with ten years can be inscribed by the National Union of Journalists with no further prerequisites.[9]

At any rate, Barzer and his cabinet issued Supreme Decree 10246 on May 9, 1972, as a "Statute for the Professionalization of the Journalist." Implementing decrees would come later so this first document was comprised of only 16 brief articles. In the future, only graduates of Bolivia's only journalism program, that at the Universidad Católica Boliviana founded in 1966, would be allowed to register and practice journalism. In the meantime, those with ten years of experience could obtain their title of "Professional National Journalist" (Periodista Profesional en Provisión Nacional) by presenting a thesis--a requirement later dropped for this amount of experience. Others, such as reporters and other writers with seven years, and editors or journalists with degrees in other fields, five years, could obtain their titles through presenting a thesis. The National Register of Professional Journalists of Bolivia would be under the charge of the Ministry of Information and Sports. Journalists must be inscribed "obligatorially" in this register as an "indispensable prerequisite" for the practice of journalism anywhere in the national state.[10]

The original decree of 1972 provided that the Ministries of Information and Education were charged with the execution and fulfillment of the law. As things turned out, officials of the FTPB and APLP met with representatives of the two ministries to draw up in September 1973 the regulating details (reglamento) of the original decree.[11] It was a mixed commission made up of two representatives from each of the professional groups and two from the Ministry of Information and Sports.

Although they handed over a proposed enabling decree to the minister of the latter, Dr. Guillermo Bulacia, on October 1, 1973,[12] another group was established which placed the decision-making power more squarely in the hands of the journalists and educators. The Consejo Nacional de Educación Superior (CNES) was instructed to set up a mixed commission to report two projects: (1) an implementing decree for the decree of May 9, 1972; and (2) regulatory details of that decree. Members of the commission, headed by Colonel José Zelaya of CNES, were representatives of the Ministry of Information, the Universidad Boliviana, APLP and FTPB. They reported to CNES on Novemoer 30, 1973,[13] and President Banzer approved both projects on December 20, 1973.[14] Jorge Carrasco, owner of the morning daily El Diario, the dean of the La Paz press founded in 1904, and one who had strenuously opposed the colegiado law, placed a note on the front page after a brief announcement of the decree-granting ceremony:

> In various journalistic circles it is believed that the document is partial and does not accord with the high interests of the national press. It has been

established that the Directors and high persons in the national press have not participated in the study of such an important document for the practice of free journalism in Bolivia.[15]

Presencia, the Catholic newspaper in La Paz with the largest circulation in the country, supported the measures. Its workers are the highest paid among Bolivian journalists, but the newspaper stressed that while no one would deny public access to the means of communication, "nevertheless it should remain established that it is one thing to work gainfully employed and permanently in journalism, which means professionalization, and another very distinct to contribute periodically and occasionally to the means of communication."[16] Nueva Jornada, rightwing successor to the leftwing Jornada of the Torres period, applauded the new Estatuto del Periodista, declaring editorially that since "the press is the fourth power of the state it therefore should be found in responsible hands, capable of sustaining the conduct of public opinion with valor and independence of judgment..."[17]

At the signing ceremonies in the Salón Dorado of the Palacio de Gobierno on December 20, 1973, Alberto Zuazo Nathes, president of the APLP which had spearheaded the drive for the statute, declared, "In a time of such high and demanding specialization as the present, no activity, and even less those which are dedicated to the public service, can conserve a base of sustenance as vulnerable as that of improvisation."[18]

What did the complementary and regulatory decrees provide? With a sense of legalism rooted far back in the colonial period,

they spelled out in great detail how the original decree of May 9, 1972, would function. It took eighteen months to work out these details. The former made it clear that the Statute of Professionalization of the Journalist was necessary simply because there was a lack of centers of specialized training in Bolivia. The requirement of presenting a thesis by those with more than ten years of experience was dropped. Those between five and ten years of experience must do a thesis acceptable to a five-member committee (tribunal) set up by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Those with between three and five years of experience need two years of specialized study in the University. Academic titles will be awarded by the Universidad Boliviana, and the Título en Provisión Nacional, obtained after registering, by the National Advisory Board of Higher Education (CNES). Titles for experience will be awarded by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Thus, the desire to retain control of the licensing process in the hands of the professional organizations did not work out, except at the educational level. Nevertheless, the Internal Professional Register was lodged within the representative organizations of journalists, independent of the National Register established in Article 12 of the supreme decree of May 9, 1972. Time for those to take advantage of the experience provisions will not extend beyond December 31, 1975. Thereafter those who wish to practice journalism in Bolivia must obtain a university degree in that field.[19]

The regulatory decree made it clear that only those who

had completed university study and become Licenciado en Periodismo or those who through experience had obtained Título de Periodista would be allowed to practice journalism in Bolivia. Only they would be allowed to be inscribed in the Registro Interno de Periodistas and receive a Carnet Único de Periodista Profesional. Article 29 provided that carnets could be stripped from persons found guilty of unethical conduct by either the APLP or FTPB after consultation with the Ministry of Information and Sports.[20]

The official text for the Regulation of the Internal Register of Journalists was released on October 10, 1974. It stated that the register will be located in the Association of Journalists of La Paz and will be under the charge of a four-member commission made up of two officials of the FTPB and two of the APLP, with the presidency rotating quarterly among them. After an aspirant for registration presents all his documentation (expediente), acceptance or rejection will be resolved by a two-third vote. It will be necessary to revalidate the Carnet Único every two years. One of the values of registration, this document states, is that it will furnish a census of all newsmen working in all media of communication in the country. The document also indicates, however, that journalists also must register with the Registro Nacional maintained by the Secretary General of Information (the former Ministry of Information and Sports) directly dependent from the office of the presidency of the republic.[21]

The new regulations were generally greeted favorably by the La Paz press with the exception of El Diario. Hoy noticed some last-minute scrambling for position, noting in a headline,

"Illegal promotion is observed of 'journalists' who exercise the profession unduly."[22] Yet most La Paz newsmen sought to obtain their titles in whatever category they fell. The process was long and involved but on December 16, 1975, just two weeks before the closing date, the two professional organizations, APLP and FTPB, gave 404 expedientes to the Minister of Education, Waldo Bernal Pereira. Here is how they broke down:

180 - more than ten years experience
73 - need to prepare thesis
37 - have foreign or Bolivian university degrees
34 - need to attend special course at UCB
11 - photographers (seven years experience)
69 - miscellaneous or unclassifiable [23]

Finally, in May 1976 the government gave the first titles, some 142 en provisión nacional (has effect in all of the national territory). The deadline for journalists with experience was extended beyond December 31, 1975, so that all workers of the press would have two more years to resolve their positions. Alberto Zuazo Nathes, managing editor of Ultima Hora and former president of the APLP, recalled that the long delay in getting the law into operation, from 1972 to 1974, was caused by great difficulty in getting approval from the National Council of Higher Education (CNES) because the law of professionalization was an exception to traditional ways of education. Zuazo Nathes, who also works as the United Press International and Newsweek correspondent in Bolivia, insisted in 1976 that the driving

force behind the statute was not an economic motive, but rather a desire to improve the quality of Bolivian journalism. "There was the necessity to convert journalism into a profession at the academic level in order to upgrade the profession," he said. But will the government control the apparatus? Zuazo Nathes believes not since the FTPB controls the carnet, or identification card, unlike Colombia where the government does, and the entidades gestoras (supervising entities) in Bolivia are the Universidad Catolica Boliviana, which supervises special courses and examinations, and the Ministry of Education which creates a special committee (tribunal) for each individual case to pass on theses. By August 1976, some 208 persons had received a Título Profesional de Periodista (Professional Title of Journalist).[24]

Jaime Humérez Seleme, director of Hoy and president of the APLP in August 1976, believes that the new law will not be ignored because two active organizations are watching over it--the APLP and the FTPB. The latter first considered a project but both worked out the statute and implementing and regulatory decrees. This was done on their initiative, not something imposed by the government. They had the desire to make every new reporter a graduate of a journalism school in order to raise the level of working newsmen. But what was to be done with those trained only by experience? Those with extensive experience had to be protected and thus the compromising nature of the final decrees evolved. Another objective, Humérez Seleme frankly admits, was to raise salaries. He maintains that the organizations did not study similar laws of other countries but rather drew up a

plan unique for Bolivia. This is not entirely true, however, for Oscar Terrazas Ayala of Cochabamba reviewed similar laws of other countries in his 39-page report of June 1973, "Considerations for the Necessity of a Colegio de Periodistas in Bolivia."[25]

At any rate, the new statute for the professionalization of journalists was a shot in the arm for the fledgling journalism program at the Universidad Católica Boliviana, (UCB) devised by Guillermo Céspedes and administered by Monsignor Genaro M. Prata, auxiliary bishop of La Paz and rector of the University. UCB was the first institution of higher learning to offer programs in journalism and psychology in Bolivia. It was Prata's idea to start a professional journalism program after a survey in 1968 of practicing newsmen in La Paz revealed that some 40 percent were not even high school graduates. The first journalism course was offered in 1968-69, and of the 65 students who enrolled, 27 went on to become working newsmen. Workers who had only journalism experience were afraid of losing their jobs when UCB began its professional education, Prata recalled in 1976, but it has not worked out that way. He conceded that journalism was the weakest curriculum in the university, with only three professors. In 1976 there were only 80 students of journalism in the only such program in Bolivia; in that year there were only four or five graduates with 16 in the upper class. One encouraging trend, however, was that about half of all the journalism students were women, which would redress the imbalance of less than 10 percent women working as pro-

fessional journalists.[26]

One advantage of a journalism program at UCB is that it is closedly related to Presencia, the Catholic daily which has led in Bolivian circulation for the past nine years, where students can get jobs or perhaps acquire practical experience. Presencia, whose title refers to the presence of Christ, was founded as a weekly in 1952 and became a daily in 1958. Its present circulation is said to be between 48,000 and 50,000 daily, with 60,000 on Thursday and Sunday. Even in the hinterlands it overshadows its closest rival, El Diario which has a circulation of 1,000 in Santa Cruz, for example, compared to almost 10,000 for Presencia. Workers' salaries at Presencia, which is the property of the Episcopal Conference of Bolivia, are higher than elsewhere in the country. Actually the newspaper receives nothing from the Episcopal Conference; the workers are paid 16 times a year, and profits are shared between them and the Conference. Prata, the rector of UCB, is also president of the five-member directorio of Presencia.[27]

But there is a division of opinion at Presencia over the law of professionalization; Armando Mariaca, co-director and manager, approves of it, but the other editor, Huascar Cajías K., himself recognized as a sociologist and scholar in other fields, is strongly opposed. He sees the law as stifling freedom of speech; why shouldn't an economist be allowed to write a column for the newspaper without being registered as a journalist? Cajías reiterated that working newsmen had been afraid that those with only empirical experience would be pushed aside or

fired, but the compromises in the final decrees seemed to calm their anxieties. Nevertheless, Cajías believes the law will be declared unconstitutional--even though this is rare in Bolivia--because it violates freedom of expression.[28]

Also skeptical of the statute--but for different reasons--is Mariano Baptista Gumucio, former Minister of Education under Torres and now editor of Ultima Hora, a popular tabloid founded in 1929 and now owned by Mario Mercado. The newspaper has a daily circulation of 20,000 and 30,000 on Friday when its supplement Semana, with pictures of beautiful women, appears. Baptista Gumucio, who otherwise directs a serious newspaper, calls this supplement "Playboy del Pobre" (Playboy of the Poor). Concerning the law of professionalization, Baptista Gumucio shrugs his shoulders and says, "This is a country with many laws and little seriousness in applying them." Therefore, he believes the law will probably be ignored. Bolivia, for example, has a special body to decide libel cases created in the early 20th century, but no case has ever come before it. Nevertheless, Baptista Gumucio does not believe the new professionalization of journalists law is an infringement on freedom of expression. The government cannot control the press, he points out, because the law was proposed by the APLP. What the editor of Ultima Hora is concerned about, however, is that the many "spontaneous collaborators" will be wiped out. In Latin American--as well as European--journalism the casual contributor is a staple of the daily press, an institution which Baptista Gumucio does not want to see destroyed. A prolific writer himself, he wants

to see the channels of communication kept open.[29]

Most vehemently opposed to the statute of professionalization is Jorge Carrasco, who views the problem from the standpoint of an owner of the press. El Diario, which he owns and edits, is considered by some to be the best newspaper in Bolivia. It has a circulation of 45,000 daily and 55,000 Sunday, with 148 employees and 24 collaborators. Not one of the newsmen working under him has asked for a título under the provisions of the press statute, Carrasco proudly points out. He considers it "a very bad decree" since it was drafted by the labor or professional organizations (FTPB and APLP) "with strong leftist orientation." Carrasco asked the government not to issue the decree; as president of the National Press Association, a group of publishers, he offered another plan but it was rejected. Possibly Banzer thought he would win over the journalists by accepting their plan, Carrasco speculates. He maintains that the titles given out will have no validity since only graduates of colleges should receive them. Carrasco believes that the government of Banzer signed the decree to spite El Diario and three generations of the Carrasco family whose only training in journalism was on the newspaper itself.[30]

A quite different view is voiced by editors of the smaller newspapers of La Paz, such as Roberto Zapata de la Barra, who puts out the most recent newcomer to capital journalism, Voz del Pueblo. Zapata, who once worked for Jornada and Nueva Jornada, broke away in a dispute to found Voz del Pueblo, which has a diminuitive circulation of 4,000 and about 20 fulltime

employees. He believes the law of professionalization "will be favorable for the future of the Bolivian press, but at the present time it restricts the possibility of getting reporters who are now scarce." Nevertheless, Zapata, who has had extensive newspaper experience but no university education, wants to get his title and is willing to do a thesis to obtain it. He is also encouraging his workers to do so. Voz del Pueblo also has journalism students from UCB working on the newspaper, which is the only one in La Paz which uses them. Although he generally favors the press law, Zapata believes that collaborators cannot be pushed aside; the specialization of their various disciplines cannot be ignored since they comprise the intellectuals of the country. "Ten years from now the press law will be very beneficial," he believes, "as long as the press is not placed in a strait-jacket. There must always be flexibility."[31]

The most enthusiastic supporter of the press law has been Hilda Ríos, that rarity in Bolivian journalism--a woman at the managerial level. Editor of Jornada since 1974, she has followed in the footsteps of Bertha Alexander, owner and editor of Hoy until 1973. Jornada, which has had a stormy history, has a circulation of 7,000 (except on days when there is a big, splashy crime and the press run goes to 10,000) and 14 editorial employees. Two of these have asked for titles through ten years of experience, and two more are taking journalism courses at UCB. Sñra. Ríos, who studied law and was manager of Jornada before becoming editor, wants to obtain her own title. As in the case with Zapata of Voz del Pueblo, one senses a strong

desire on the part of personnel on the smaller newspapers to improve their lot. The law may be a great equalizer, or as Sñra. Ríos sums it up, "It is very necessary: a safeguard for our journalists."[32]

In conclusion, it is too early to determine whether or not the Bolivian press law will function smoothly. Perhaps it will be ignored; perhaps it will be used by the government to discipline recalcitrant newsmen. But at the present time there is considerable enthusiasm for the law in Bolivia itself. After all, repressive governments do not need statutes such as professionalization of journalists to ride roughshod over the press, when they already have the power to do so. On the contrary, colegiado laws give greater moral sanction against such incursions. Realistically, it is unlikely that the press of most of Latin America can be--or in some cases should be--free by Western standards in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, the economic and psychological advances made by the journalism profession under the colegiado laws should be understood within their own context. Such statutes may seem to be hesitant, faltering steps toward an independent press in Latin America, but they are actually giant steps in terms of the history of the region. Comprehending the Latin American journalists' desire to upgrade their profession and improve their economic position, rather than automatically censuring any relationship between the government and the press, would be the first step toward mutual understanding.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jerry W. Knudson, "The Press and the Bolivian National Revolution," Journalism Monographs No. 31 (November 1973), 11-12. See also, by the same author, "The Inter American Press Association as Champion of Press Freedom: Reality or Rhetoric? The Bolivian Experience, 1952-1973," paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Fort Collins, Colo., August 1973 (available through ERIC), and "Bolivia--Where Critics Need Courage," International Press Institute Report (January 1974), 1 and 18.

2. Interview with Augusto Céspedes, La Paz, August 20, 1976.

3. Jerry W. Knudson, "Press Women of Bolivia," Matrix, Women in Communications (Winter 1973/74), 8-9 and 21.

4. The La Paz newspapers were the morning El Diario, Presencia and Hoy, and the evening Ultima Hora, Jornada and Voz del Pueblo. Santa Cruz newspapers were El País, Nueva Epoca, Crónica, El Comercio and El Debate. Cochabamba: Los Tiempos and Prensa Libre. Oruro: La Patria and El Expreso. Sucre: El Noticiero.

5. Presencia, December 23, 1974.

6. Oscar Terrazas Ayala, Consideraciones sobre la necesidad del Colegio de Periodistas de Bolivia (Cochabamba, June 1973), typescript, 12-13.

7. Hoy, October 16, 1974.

8. See William H. Brill, Military Intervention in Bolivia: The Overthrow of Paz Estenssoro and the MNR (Washington, D.C., 1967) and Jerry W. Knudson, "Bolivia's Popular Assembly of 1971 and the Overthrow of General Juan Jose Torres," Special Studies No. 52, Council on International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo (April 1974).

9. Terrazas Ayala, op. cit., 4-12.

10. El Diario, May 10, 1972.

11. Hoy, September 18, 1973.

12. Ultima Hora and Hoy, both of October 2, 1973. President of the commission was Alberto Guzmán Rojas, sub-secretary of the Ministry of Information and Sports.

13. Ultima Hora, November 30, 1973.

14. Decretos Supremos No. 11246 and 11247. Gral. de Brig. Hugo Banzer Suarez, Presidente de la Republica. Copia legalizada. Mimeographed [December 20, 1973]. Hoy printed the terms of both decrees in synthesis on December 21, 1973.

15. El Diario, December 20, 1973.

16. Presencia, December 21, 1973.

17. Nueva Jornada, December 22, 1973.

18. Hoy, December 21, 1973. See also Ultima Hora, December 21, 1973.

19. Decreto Supremo No. 11246, op. cit.

20. Reglamento del Estatuto de Profesionalización del Periodista. Copia legalizada. Mimeographed. The Ministry of Information and Sports became the Ministry of Press and Information by decree of September 20, 1974.

21. "Profesionalización de Periodistas. Fué Aprobado el Registro Interno." [October 10, 1974] Mimeographed. The full text of 17 articles as issued by the Secretaría de Prensa e Informaciones de la Presidencia de la República can also be found in Voz del Pueblo, October 14, 1974.

22. Hoy, October 15, 1974. See also the editorial, "Professionalization of Journalists," December 17, 1975.

23. Presencia, December 17, 1975.

24. Interview with Alberto Zuazo Nathes, managing editor of Ultima Hora, La Paz, August 17, 1976.

25. Interview with Jaime Humérez Seleme, editor of Hoy, La Paz, August 17, 1976.

26. Interview with Monsignor Genaro M. Prata, La Paz, August 19, 1976.

27. Interview with Armando Mariaca, co-editor and manager of Presencia, August 16, 1976.

28. Interview with Huascar Cajías K., co-editor of Presencia, August 16, 1976.

29. Interview with Mariano Baptista Gumucio, editor of Ultima Hora, La Paz, August 17, 1976.

30. Interview with Jorge Carrasco, owner and editor of El Diario, La Paz, August 18, 1976.

31. Interview with Roberto Zapata de la Barra, editor of Voz del Pueblo, La Paz, August 20, 1976.

32. Interview with Hilda Ríos, editor of Nueva Jornada, La Paz, August 20, 1976.